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worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell, thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.

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On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or wounding the women, for the Albanian code of honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

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To such an extent is respect for women carried by the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
 For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
 Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
 and all the sons bring home their brides to the
 paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the
 parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of
 families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
 mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
 and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
 sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is
 sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the
 respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and
 wields great authority in the household to which she
 has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
 leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
 support and affection in her old age, and to see their
 children growing up around her. When her husband [484] ●
 leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom re-
 quires that she should manifest no grief at his depar-
 ture. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold,
 and watching his familiar figure disappear in the
 distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she
 hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
 his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
 not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
 him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any
 time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their
 hearts no wives more regret the absence of their hus-
 bands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
 with which they console themselves testify. Un- [789]
 known to their partners, they sew in their clothes

● 484 238

THE WOMEN OF TURKEY.

[CHAP. VIII.]

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small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

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The men on their side are not free from homesickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen :

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
 Hide we lone and desolate.
 Patience, heart ! What boots complaining,
 So it hath been willed by Fate.
 Yet this grievous bitter exile
 Cannot longer still be borne ;
 Is't naught that we like felons wander
 From Fatherland as outlaws lorn ?
 Who the exile's griefs can number ?
 Say whose woes can equal mine ?
 E'en the viper, should she sting me,
 Poisoned by my blood would pine !

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The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of 789
 women assemble, and, having captured some of the 731
 insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with
 hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest
 well or stream, singing in turn as they go the follow-
 ing dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus :

O locusts ! O cockchafers ! parents kind,
 Orphaned you have left us all behind !

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the
 rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in 782
 the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall 231
 the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "un-
 spoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it.
 If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of
 a serious nature, the water used is brought from three
 different wells or springs, and mixed together, its
 efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a three-
 fold degree.

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with 789
 the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In 484
 Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to
 leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony
 is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe
 and successful journey. In front of the house-door
 the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over"
 water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings
 of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with
 his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of
 the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or
 two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take

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[777] leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

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484 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees. According to M. Hecquard,¹ this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

¹ *La Haute Albanie.*

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 very sight of that trail, and then, as it dipped downward and I heard the gendarme bracing his feet and felt the mule's weight sag against the strength of that useful tail, I looked up and forgot everything else in the magnificence of shadow and sunshine on the snow-piled heights.

I do not mean that I am at all unusual in my attitude to danger. I'm not, and the prospect of sudden death scares me stiff, as it does everyone else. I mean that human beings are all chameleons. The stuff of humanity is always the same, it merely takes on different colors from its environment; in Albania there is not one of us who will not become Albanian. There are many morals to be drawn from this; you may apply the idea to education, or to your attitude toward immigrants or capitalists or criminals or even to your next-door neighbor; it would be useful also in considering international politics or religions that are not yours, or the actions of men in war, 484 but I did not draw any morals, being immediately engaged in crossing the foot of the largest waterfall I had yet encountered. ~~7~~

It was so large that the men unsaddled the mule, stripped themselves, and wrapped their clothes in several bundles before attempting to cross it. Then they made a living chain of themselves; the byraktor, at its head, advanced to a water-worn boulder in the center of the current, braced himself firmly, and became the pivot on which the chain moved. The end man carried over the clothes, bundle by bundle, wrapped in

~~7~~ [on return trip, 1261] Shoshi to Scutan'--Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

my poncho; then he carried me across—I was 484 soaked in spray, but that did not matter. Then he put one arm around the donkey and supported it across, and then the saddle, and then he went back once more and took the protesting Rexh and brought him over. The water was above their waists; their white bodies slanted in the glassy current; three yards below them the water poured in a crystal mass over the edge of the pool, a second waterfall that struck in roaring foam fifty feet below.

The worst of the current was between me and the central rock where the byraktor was braced; several times the end man's feet slipped there, notably when he crossed with the donkey, which I gave up for lost, but each time the chain of hands held firm.

Their bodies came blue from the icy water, but they put on only their cotton underdrawers, for they said we would next go through the snow, and they did not want to get their beautifully embroidered trousers wet; for the same reason they left their purple, gold-embroidered socks and rawhide opangi in the packs, and went on barefoot.

"Good! If we're crossing the snow fields 622 already, we'll surely be in Scutari by to-night," I said. But I was joyful too soon, for when we reached the first of the snow the party stopped. The byraktor sat down on a rock and lighted a cigarette; the gendarme, without a word, began to climb a tall cliff that overhung the trail.

2[Wardnet of Shoshi -- [265] Analyst]

692 ^{It had} its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 361 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each 320 community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such
 1/2 [the legal system - Analyst]

* 35/ 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjšhë, Çermenikë, the communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

five hours from Tirana, travelled on through the night, and in the early morning as the car neared Peshkopi, he got out and walked home across country. (With him were a number of attendants armed to the teeth.) 484
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Needless to say, such a man never announced beforehand the time of his departure, if his intention to depart could not be concealed.

An obvious precaution was never to stir outside the house. When a Dibër notable went to Tirana, he took at least six armed attendants along with him, who might or might not live with him permanently. The armed attendants of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë were mainly young relatives of his who spent years with him, at once his clansmen and his relatives; their loyalty was beyond doubt. The bodyguard of Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan were generally peasants from his farms who had been long in his service. Less rich men who needed numerous attendants on their walks abroad drew them from their neighbours. Selman Nus Cohu, for instance, an attendant of the bajraktar of Lurë, lived at home and only joined the bajraktar when he or another member of his family needed him for a journey or some other cause. When Miftar Selmani of Lumë came to Tirana he brought a posse of armed neighbours who constantly changed as their services were required at home; some came with him for the outing, others out of bounden duty to requite the help he had given them in earlier times.

Men still poorer contented themselves with reinforcing the men of the household with a single permanent retainer. Such a man was the peasant from Shëngjerg who fled to Namid Çallaku of Fulqet after committing three murders, and in return for his board and an occasional tip protected his protector. In Mat it was also customary to go and stay for a month at a time with a friend who had need of an extra gun. 357

Failing armed attendants, a hunted man was not without protectors on his journey. In districts where women were immune a woman's company, on a journey as at work, was sufficient. When Shalë as a tribe was in blood with its neighbour, Mertur, a man from Shalë could safely go to Mertur with a woman born in Shalë or another tribe who was married in Mertur, for she counted as belonging to Mertur and the man was therefore her guest. On the other hand, a daughter of Mertur who was married in another tribe 628*
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